

Hatch	McConnell	Scott
Heller	Moran	Shelby
Hoeven	Paul	Strange
Inhofe	Perdue	Sullivan
Isakson	Portman	Thune
Johnson	Risch	Tillis
Kennedy	Roberts	Toomey
Lankford	Rounds	Wicker
Lee	Rubio	Young
McCain	Sasse	

## NAYS—50

Baldwin	Gillibrand	Murray
Bennet	Harris	Nelson
Blumenthal	Hassan	Peters
Booker	Heinrich	Reed
Brown	Heitkamp	Sanders
Cantwell	Hirono	Schatz
Cardin	Kaine	Schumer
Carper	King	Shaheen
Casey	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Collins	Leahy	Tester
Coons	Manchin	Udall
Cortez Masto	Markey	Van Hollen
Donnelly	McCaskill	Warner
Duckworth	Menendez	Warren
Durbin	Merkley	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murkowski	Wyden
Franken	Murphy	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 50, the nays are 50.

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

The point of order is sustained and the amendment falls.

#### COUNTERING AMERICA'S ADVERSARIES THROUGH SANCTIONS ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of H.R. 3364, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 3364) to provide congressional review and to counter aggression by the Governments of Iran, the Russian Federation, and North Korea, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is now 20 minutes of debate, equally divided.

The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

I first thank Senator CORKER, Senator CRAPO, Senator BROWN, Senator SCHUMER, and Senator MCCONNELL for their help in getting us to this moment. This is an important moment for our country, and I am very proud of what we were able to accomplish.

The legislation we are about to vote on will give the United States the strongest possible hand to stand up against the aggression of Russia. Russia attacked us and our democratic institutions; Russia invaded the sovereignty of other countries, including Ukraine and Georgia; Russia is participating in war crimes in Syria, and this legislation will give the United States the strongest possible hand in taking action against Russia.

Mandatory sanctions are included in this legislation with regard to the energy sector, the financial sector, the intelligence and defense sectors—not only with primary sanctions but with secondary sanctions. This legislation provides for a democracy fund, working with Europe, to protect ourselves against Russia's attacks. This legisla-

tion provides a review process so the President, on his own, cannot eliminate sanctions. He must come to Congress. As President Obama had to in regard to the Iran sanctions, the President would have to come to Congress in regard to sanction relief against Russia.

This is a tough bill to stand up to what Russia has done and requires mandatory action. There are so many people to thank in regard to this. Of course, we also have the Iran sanctions. I thank Senator MENENDEZ, on our side, particularly on the Iran sanctions issues. We are taking actions against Iran for their nonnuclear violations, their support of terrorists, their ballistic missile violations, their support of the arms embargo, human rights violations.

What we do here is totally consistent with the JCPOA. The bills are very consistent with what passed this Chamber 98 to 2. We maintained the integrity of the Iran and Russia provisions consistent with what was done in our committees.

In regard to North Korea, I know we all want to take actions against North Korea. The provisions added by the House are consistent with what we think are appropriate for North Korea.

This is an important moment for our country. I really do want to thank all involved. I know Senator CORKER, Senator BROWN, and Senator CRAPO would agree with me: I really thank our dedicated staff. We could not have done this without our staff. They worked 24/7 for the last 7 weeks to get this done. As a result of their action, the United States is going to be in a better position dealing with Russia when this legislation is enacted, and I am proud to be part of that.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I thank the ranking member for his outstanding efforts, along with many others.

What I would like to do now is yield to Senator MCCAIN, and I will speak last.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I thank the Democratic leader for his courtesy, as always.

In just the last 3 years, under Vladimir Putin, Russia has invaded Ukraine, annexed Crimea, threatened NATO allies, and intervened militarily in Syria, leaving a trail of death, destruction, and broken promises in his wake. Of course, last year Russia attacked the foundations of American democracy with a cyber and information campaign to interfere in America's 2016 election.

I am proud—I am proud—of the two individuals who just spoke, the Senator from Maryland and the Senator from Tennessee. Both of them have worked in a bipartisan fashion and got legislation to this floor. Although it is long overdue, it is here. I believe we will see an overwhelming vote, and I thank them for their bipartisanship.

In the last 8 months, what price has Russia paid for attacking American democracy? Very little. This legislation would begin to change that. The legislation would impose mandatory sanctions on transactions with the Russian defense or intelligence sectors, including the FSB and the GRU, and the Russian military intelligence agency which was primarily responsible for Russia's attack on our election.

I believe my colleagues know what is in this. It would codify existing sanctions on Russia by placing into law six Executive orders signed by President Obama in response to both Russian interference in the 2016 election and its illegal actions in Ukraine, and it would take new steps to tighten those sanctions.

The legislation would target the Russian energy sector, which is controlled by Vladimir Putin's cronies, with sanctions on investment in Russian petroleum and natural gas development as well as Russian energy pipelines.

My friends, the United States of America needs to send a strong message to Vladimir Putin and any other aggressor that we will not tolerate attacks on our democracy. That is what this bill is all about. We must take our own side in this fight, not as Republicans, not as Democrats but as Americans.

It is time to respond to Russia's attack on American democracy with strength, with resolve, with common purpose, and with action. I am proud to have played a small role. What I am most proud of is the bipartisanship you are seeing manifested today on both sides of the aisle. We need a little more of it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Arizona for his dedication to our national security, for his tremendous involvement in this legislation, and all that he does on behalf of all of us to make sure that our Nation is secure.

Thank you so much for those comments and for your deep involvement in this piece of legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I thank the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and the ranking member, Senator CARDIN.

Senator CRAPO and I began working on this months and months ago. I appreciate that partnership.

Senator MCCAIN—I read an op-ed he wrote in USA Today about 3 weeks ago. It was about what Putin tried to do with some level of success in Montenegro, and nobody has watched Putin and his intervention in our elections and European elections and their governments and his desire to destabilize democracy around the world—nobody has recognized it quite as early or with the acute sense that Senator MCCAIN has, and we thank him for that.

I rise to urge my colleagues to join me and vote for this critical sanctions

legislation, which is the product of months of bipartisan effort in this body.

At a time when it is difficult to get things done in this far-too partisan Senate, this effort proves it is still possible for Congress to come together and accomplish big things. The bill provides for a range of tough new sanctions against Iran, Russia, and North Korea.

The Ukrainian community in my State knows firsthand the dangers of decades of unchecked Russian aggression. Congress must act to punish Russia for its continued actions in Ukraine, in East Ukraine, in Crimea, and for its interference in our Presidential election and to deter future such aggression.

This bill will prevent President Trump from relaxing sanctions on Russia without congressional review. We are all concerned about that.

Iran is one of the world's leading state sponsors of terrorism and a continuing source of instability throughout the region. This bill is carefully written to avoid violating U.S. commitments under the Iran nuclear agreement, and it applies new sanctions in response to Iran's support for terrorism, its human rights abuses, and its ballistic missile program.

It also incorporates sanctions on North Korea, including measures to toughen enforcement of current U.N. Security Council rules. North Korea's efforts to develop nuclear capabilities must be countered. We must take a stand against its horrendous human rights record, including the savage treatment of Otto Warmbier that led to his death.

These are important steps. More can be done to address the situation in North Korea.

I thank my staff, Colin McGinnis, Mark Powden, and Graham Steele on this. I appreciate the work of the staff in all four of these offices on Banking and Foreign Relations, and I ask my colleagues to concur.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak on leader time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, last year, we know the United States was victim of an attack by a foreign power on the very foundation of this dear democracy—the right of the people to a free and fair election.

The consensus view of 17 agencies is that Mr. Putin interfered in the 2016 election. For that alone, the United States has more than just cause to sanction President Putin and the intelligence apparatus he directs. To date, Mr. Putin and his allies have not suffered serious repercussions for this stunning breach of our right as a sovereign nation not to have our elections disturbed by a foreign capital. That all changes today.

Congress has drafted this sanctions bill to hold Mr. Putin accountable for his actions and to send a message to him and the rest of the world that any further attempts to degrade our democracy will meet further sanctions and action. We will not stand by idly as this is done.

There is no process more sacred in a democracy than the guarantee of free and fair elections. That fundamental right was attacked by Mr. Putin. With this vote, let us finally—finally—officially condemn and forcefully respond to that attack on our country. Let us send this bill to the President's desk for his signature.

We still don't know if President Trump will sign this legislation. I say to my colleagues: If the Congress speaks loudly enough and strongly enough and we send this bill with a veto-proof majority, it will not matter what President Trump decides.

Before I yield the floor, I wish to thank my colleagues. At the top of the list are Senators MCCAIN and GRAHAM, who early on had the idea to do this. Their strength against transgressions against this country is wonderful.

I thank the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He had to pursue this legislation through ups and downs. He didn't relent, and here we are today because of his efforts.

I thank his ranking member, Senator CARDIN. They are a great bipartisan team.

Similarly, Chairman CRAPO and Ranking Member BROWN, again, in a bipartisan way, not letting partisan politics get in the way—they passed this legislation.

I would like to thank leader MCCONNELL because when he and I talked about bringing this legislation to the floor, he didn't blink. He didn't hesitate. He was forthright and said: Let's do it.

This piece of legislation proves that when this body works the way it should, when both parties talk to each other, work with each other, and the committee chairmen and ranking members negotiate legislation through proper procedure, we can produce good, strong bipartisan legislation.

I would be remiss if I didn't mention, in this moment of bipartisanship, the same thing could happen with healthcare.

With that, I urge all of my colleagues to vote yes.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CORKER. I thank the minority leader for his comments, and I yield a moment to Senator CRAPO, who played an outstanding role as the leader of our committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAPO. I thank Senator CORKER. Mr. President, I thank, too, all those who were mentioned: the Foreign Relations leadership, Senator CORKER and Senator CARDIN; Senator BROWN, my colleague in the Banking Committee; and all the others who have been so involved in this issue.

This is one of the examples of how we can work together in a bipartisan fashion to craft critical legislation for protecting and strengthening America. Frankly, it is past time for us to stand strong as a nation in response to the increasing aggression that we see in Russia around the world—whether it be in Ukraine, in Crimea, in Syria, in facilitating corruption globally, or in the cyber security attacks we have seen that have been directed not only at us but at our allies across the world.

It is very important that we implement this legislation. I am glad to see the solid bipartisanship that we have been able to build. I also hope that we can build this bipartisanship on many, many other issues.

We are going to be looking at North Korea, as has already been said. I am hopeful and confident that we will stand again on this floor soon as we deal with the threats we face from North Korea.

Again, I thank all of those who have worked so closely with us on this legislation and appreciate the opportunity for us to move forward, united tonight on this critical issue.

I yield back.

Mr. CORKER. I yield the floor to Senator MENENDEZ.

Mr. CARDIN. May I have a moment?

First, I want to join in thanking Senator MCCAIN and Senator GRAHAM for their work. We started in January on this legislation—their legislation. How we drafted it is intact here, and I thank Senator MCCAIN and Senator GRAHAM.

The leader on the Iran sanctions, going back many, many Congresses, has been Senator MENENDEZ. In introducing him, I want to thank him for his leadership on Iran and, also, these other bills. I look forward to his comments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, let me thank the ranking member for his kind comments. I thank the chairman for his continuous engagement in this regard and his leadership.

I remind my colleagues that what gave us the vehicle to consider Russia and North Korea was the countering Iran act that I was pleased to author with the chairman and with the ranking member and other colleagues in a bipartisan approach.

When we started on Iran, there were those who wanted to look only at its intercontinental ballistic missile violations. I and others persisted and said: Wait a minute. Iran is far more nefarious in its activities—beyond intercontinental ballistic missiles.

It is collective leadership that brought us to a much broader bill that we are about to vote on today, where Iran is being pursued for the violation of its international order.

We just had the Prime Minister of Lebanon here, and he was saying to us: If you are concerned about Hezbollah, then find where the source of the

money is. The source of money for Hezbollah is Iran. If you are concerned about intercontinental ballistic missiles, I would add, it is Iran. If you are concerned about the greatest exporter of terrorism, it is Iran. If you are concerned about human rights violations within Iran, it is the leadership of Iran.

This is about sending a message to Iran that, in fact, when you violate the international order, there are consequences to it. It is about sending a message to Russia that when you violate the international order, annex Crimea, invade Ukraine, indiscriminately bomb civilians in Syria—and then when you try to affect the elections of the United States of America, you have a cyber attack, from my view, on the election process.

We can debate whether it affected the election. That is not the issue. The mere fact that Russia tried to affect our elections should be upsetting from the average citizen to the President of the United States. We have an opportunity to make very clear to Russia and to any other nation that this will not be tolerated.

Finally, to North Korea: North Korea's dangerous provocations in its path to nuclear weapons and a delivery system to be able to deliver those nuclear weapons are some of the greatest challenges we have.

We have an opportunity to come here today and say: You have to observe the international order. We have to go back to the basis of the rules that ultimately came about after our leadership in World War II to preserve the international order that has brought us peace and prosperity.

There are only a handful of peaceful diplomacy tools you can pursue. One of them is the use of sanctions in order to try to prod countries to move in a certain direction and to observe the international order. That is our opportunity today with Iran, with Russia, with North Korea. I hope we will seize it unanimously because when we do that, we send the most powerful message in the world that the United States—Democrats, Republicans, Independents—stand together in terms of defending the national interests and security of the United States.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CORKER. I thank the Senator from New Jersey for his outstanding leadership on Iran and his leadership on Russia and North Korea. He has led us for years and years in sanctioning Iran and has brought them to the table. I thank him for that.

For those who are here and want to vote, I am going to yield 1 minute to Senator GARDNER. I am going to speak for about a minute and a half, and to my knowledge, we will be ready to vote. I thank all of my colleagues for their patience.

Senator GARDNER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. President, I thank Senator MENENDEZ. I appreciate

the opportunity to talk about what this Senate and Congress has done. Last Congress, we passed unanimously the North Korea Sanctions and Policy Enhancement Act.

This legislation that we are about to vote on builds on the success we started with last year. We have more work to do to stop the crazed Kim regime.

I thank the chairman and the leader for committing to further conversations on North Korea, further action that needs to be taken because we know that, in China, there are over 5,000 businesses still doing business with North Korea. China is responsible for 90 percent of the North Korean economy. Now, 10 of those 5,000 businesses are responsible for 30 percent of the economic activity, the imports from North Korea into China. More work has to be done to stop this madman in Pyongyang.

I thank this Senate for moving forward on legislation today to build on the success we had last year. I urge its passage. We have more work to do to put an end to this regime.

Mr. CORKER. I thank the Senator for his leadership on North Korea, and I thank him for speaking.

Mr. President, I will be very brief, as I normally am. This bill has taken passion, tenacity, and all of us working together to bring out the best in this body and to get to this point where we are today. I want to thank everybody who has been involved.

Senator CARDIN has been an outstanding ranking member. As always, we worked together, just as we did today on another markup, to get to where we are. We have Senators CRAPO and BROWN. I think there were about four committees working to get this piece of legislation out. It was an incredible effort working around the clock for days and nights. I want to thank them for their leadership.

I want to thank Senator MENENDEZ, again, for his involvement, in particular on Iran, but on all of these issues.

Certainly, thanks go to Senators MCCAIN and GRAHAM for their tremendous leadership in beginning the process, especially on Russia. Thank you so much.

Thank you, Senator SCHUMER and Senator MCCONNELL, for giving us the freedom to operate under regular order, the freedom to operate in the committee process, which I know all of us long to get to on all issues that we deal with here, and thank you to all of those Members who have been so involved. Our staffs have been incredible. Thank you so much for the professionalism, the knowledge, the energy, and the willingness to work late hours to make this happen.

The attributes of this legislation have been discussed. I think we all are ready for this moment. We are all ready to speak to what Russia has done to our country and to others, to speak to what Iran is doing outside of the nuclear agreement, and to speak to what North Korea continues to do.

One attribute that hasn't been spoken to is this: It has been my goal as chairman, working with the ranking member, that Congress continue to be more and more relevant and to garner back the powers that we have given to the executive branch for decades. One of the most important attributes of this legislation is the congressional review, where, when major decisions are made, Congress is involved; Congress has a say. I hope we will build upon that, not only in foreign policy but in other matters.

I want to thank all involved.

I urge a strong vote on this piece of legislation that sends a strong message to Iran, to Russia, and to North Korea.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back.

The bill was ordered to a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. CORKER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 98, nays 2, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 175 Leg.]

#### YEAS—98

Alexander	Flake	Murphy
Baldwin	Franken	Murray
Barrasso	Gardner	Nelson
Bennet	Gillibrand	Perdue
Blumenthal	Graham	Peters
Blunt	Grassley	Portman
Booker	Harris	Reed
Boozman	Hassan	Risch
Brown	Hatch	Roberts
Burr	Heinrich	Rounds
Cantwell	Heitkamp	Rubio
Capito	Heller	Sasse
Cardin	Hirono	Schatz
Carper	Hoeven	Schumer
Casey	Inhofe	Scott
Cassidy	Isakson	Shaheen
Cochran	Johnson	Shelby
Collins	Kaine	Stabenow
Coons	Kennedy	Strange
Corker	King	Sullivan
Cornyn	Klobuchar	Tester
Cortez Masto	Lankford	Thune
Cotton	Leahy	Tillis
Crapo	Lee	Toomey
Cruz	Manchin	Udall
Daines	Markey	Van Hollen
Donnelly	McCain	Warner
Duckworth	McCaskill	Warren
Durbin	McConnell	Whitehouse
Enzi	Menendez	Wicker
Ernst	Merkley	Wyden
Feinstein	Moran	Young
Fischer	Murkowski	

#### NAYS—2

Paul                      Sanders

The bill (H.R. 3364) was passed.

#### AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ACT OF 2017—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG). The Senator from Wyoming.

AMENDMENT NO. 502 TO AMENDMENT NO. 267

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 502, the Heller amendment.